1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

The Kaje

The Kaje, who call themselves the Baju, are situated to the south-west of the Katab, and are split in two by the Zaria Plateau provincial boundary, half the tribe being under the Emir of Zaria and the other half under the Emir of Jemaa. The tribe was originally wholly administered by Zaria, being directly responsible to the Galadima of that city, and the present unfortunate bisection dates back to that period of last century when the establishment of the Fulani at Jemaa led to a reshuffling of the districts.

The Kaje consist of six localized groups, as follows:

(1) The Baiduang, inhabiting the villages of Zonkwa, Zuturu, Kurmin Bi, and Madauchi (Zaria Province).
(2) The Baintso, inhabiting the villages of Fadan Kaje, Tsofon Gidda, Fadia, Rimfa, Kafō, Zagwom (Zaria Province).
(3) The Baimbin, inhabiting the villages of Aduang, Suriang, Wadong, Kan-Kadong (Plateau Province).
(4) The Bainturung, inhabiting the villages of Duwhan, Vontong, Abet, Kanyem, Abong (Plateau Province).
(5) The Batadon, inhabiting the villages of Madakia, Azufwo, Kukwan, Furjam, Giddan Atang, Vumpang, Pong, Sosun, Kumantso, Dichodon, Zat, Zankiruwa (Plateau Province).
(6) The Banewhan, inhabiting the villages of Katsuk, Zubong, Marsa, Afana, Zamberkpat, Bakin Kogi, Rakawan, Chenchuk, Kurdan, Ataiechap, Kamerun, Rikeakwon, Zauru (Plateau Province).

These six divisions may be described as village confederacies, for they are not "clans" in the accepted sense of being exogamous units. Certain informants of the Baiduang group stated that in former times no Baiduang man could marry a Baiduang woman, and a villager of Fadia informed me that he had been told by his father that formerly it was not permissible for any Faida man to marry any woman of the Baintso group. If this information is correct it would appear that the Kaje formerly had an exogamous clan organization which has only broken down in recent times. It has given place to a modified form of exogamy, based on the kinship, real or fictitious, of the local group inhabiting a single village-area. I was unable to obtain any clear evidence that village confederacies had also been totemic. It was stated that the Baiduang respected the leopard, but there was no evidence that the leopard was a totem, though one informant

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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MORWA

101 Where the plural prefix *Ma* is used, it is applied to people of alien origin and inferior birth. The Morwa do not themselves use these typically Bantu prefixes, but many Nigerian tribes in speaking of themselves use the Bantu plural prefix *Ba*. The Kaje, for example, who are neighbours of the Morwa, call themselves [197] the Ba-ju, the Ikulu the Bakulu, and so on. The Morwa speak the same language as the Katab.

648 The Morwa are an independent tribe, though they were apparently subject in ancient days to the Habe kings of Zaria and certainly during the last century to the Beri-Beri and Fulani [174] dynasties of Zaria. The tribe seems at one time to have been located slightly further to the north (at Yelwa) and to have been [134] driven south by Zaria slave-raiders. The plain they now occupy is very fertile, and is flanked by the Kagoro hills which offered a safe retreat in time of war.

173 The ruling family resides at Manchok, and the present chief 612 states that his family came originally from Kabanchan, a Kagoro town in the Madaiki's district of Jemaa. The earliest settlers were the kindred known as the Ye-Lutsi who migrated to Manchok from Tankurang (Yelwa) across the Zaria-Plateau provincial boundary sometime last century. In this kindred is vested the priestly functions, and we have thus at Manchok the bisection so commonly found, into (*a*) the earliest settlers and custodians of the religious rites, (*b*) the ruling family, a later arrival.

361 The district consists of a number of village-areas of which ● 103 the principal are Manchok (with Kisagwai), Beniki, Bandong, Chori, Agbwat (Babban Gidda), Matok, Gora, Bungen, Zankan, 582 Mahuta, and Chonbano. All these are inhabited almost entirely by Asolio. Included in the district also are a number of villages inhabited by members of the neighbouring Ataka tribe. There is also a village called Nandiyam which consists of both Asolio and of Katab. There is free intermarriage between the Asolio and the sections which belong to other tribes, the marriages taking the form either of marriages with girls or of elopement with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permissible among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

612 The social organization is, as among the Kagoro and Katab, 614 of a dual character, i.e. there is the kinship grouping and there 582

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

According to Meek, the Katab proper (*Atyap*, in the vernacular), consist of the following units:

Clan : population	*Sub-clan : population (with lineages)*	*Villages : population*
Minyam : 3,602	Fakan : 915 (Setiin, Abio, Inyap, Agidda)	Zonzon .. .. 227 Sako .. .. .. 287 Zarkwai .. .. 303 Bakin Kogi (i) .. 48
	Aswen : 2,687 (Amurun-Alan, Yagofo, Awai, Kofo, Magemmi or Magamiya)	Kibori .. .. 281 Kurmin Masara .. 520 Zaman Awon .. .. 243 Zaman Dabo .. .. 785 Magamiya .. .. 480 Taligram (Taligan) .. 226 Gidan Wuka 152
Shokwa : 200	(Kuzat, Kamantan)	Gora : 200
Agbat : 6,103	Kwak : 1,431 (Angwai, Tainchen, Telen)	1,200 .. .. 1,400 Kurmin Gando .. 231
	Kpaisa : 1,557 (?)	Jankasa .. .. 1,150 Magada Kura .. 407
	Nje : 3,115 (Akwafu, Gaya, Jaba)	Ungwar Gaya .. 908 Fada Tsofuwa .. 467 Gidan Karo .. .. 226 Kurmin Dawaki .. 409 Mabushi 1,105
Aku : 962	(Asalio, Akuzan, Akuchon)	Ungwar Zaki .. 137 Bakin Kogi (ii) .. 94 Kigudu .. .. 132 Kwaku 599
		Total 10,667

Lineages and villages are given here basically in the order in which they appear in Meek's tables: what has determined this order is not known.

Administrative units (Village-areas) of the Katab tribal area recognized by Government in 1950 (with population figures of *c.* 1948): (*a*) Zonzon, 2,184; (*b*) Zaman Dabo, 2,335; (*c*) Taligan, 1,116; (*d*) Gora, 3,238; (*e*) Jan Kasa, 2,162; (*f*) Ungwar Gaya, 3,566; (*g*) Gidan Jatau, 2,368: total, 20,315.[17] Unfortunately it is not possible to correlate in detail this list with Meek's, since the component hamlets of the various Village-areas cannot in all cases be identified with any certainty. It would appear, however, that (*a*) here corresponds with Meek's (1), (*d*) with (3), (*e*) with (4), (*f*) with (5), and (*g*) with (6); (*b*) and (*c*) together make up Meek's (2). (See also *Local Organs of Authority*, below.)

Cole found (1948–9) that the Katab tribe appeared to consist of three exogamous clans, Nyam, Ku, and Baht, the first divided into four "kindreds," the second not divided, and the third into three "kindreds." The correlation of social units with territorial units was inconclusive. Thus, the Ikulu immigrants appear to have emerged as one or two "sub-clans" of Minyam, and Meek's Shokwa "clan" to have fused with Agbat as a "sub-clan." (See also under Ikulu, below.)

[17] No information is available to explain the difference between this figure (which, incidentally, does not include Zangon Katab Town) and the various totals given for the Katab tribe specifically—themselves showing striking differences.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KANINKON

In 1909 the boundary between Zaria and the former Nasarawa Province ran from the vicinity of the Irigwe village of Kwon (Kwall), westward immediately to the north of Zangon Katab, thence in a south-westerly direction between Gora and Zangon Katab: thus, a large part of the Katab tribal area lay in Nasarawa Province. Subsequently boundary adjustments appear to have been made whereby Zaria acquired that part of Zangon Katab District which had till then been administered in Nasarawa Province (apparently including most if not all of Minyam clan territory and two-thirds of Agbat, the Hausa enclave of Zangon Katab, the Kachichere tribal area, virtually the whole of the Kaje tribal area, even Pari Village-area of the Chawai tribal area).

These details are important, because Temple ceased collecting materials for Northern Nigerian Tribes and Emirates only in 1916, and may well have failed to take into account this boundary change. Temple's description of Katab states that they have "one township over the border in Nassarawa Province," conceivably referring thus to the mass of Katab in Nasarawa described above. On the other hand, Brice-Smith (1922) noted that the Katab tribe "do not extend elsewhere except in one village, Tum, across the provincial boundary in the Jema'a Division of Nassarawa Province." There is in fact a hamlet of that name in Kagoro Independent District (a part of Jema'a Division until 1934): as has been indicated already, Kagoro is known to harbour a number of Katab immigrants. The search for Katab affiliates might well have stopped here, but for a cryptic note by A. B. Mathews which appears to suggest that Kaninkon refer to themselves as *Tum:* here is the admittedly tenuous link closing the circuit between Katab, Kagoro, Kachichere, and Kaninkon; the possibility of a closer connection between them than can yet be demonstrated is not to be overlooked.

Neither the meaning nor origin of these names can be stated, nor is it known by whom they are used at the present time.

Population: Location: Social Organization

The bulk of the Kaninkon occupy a fairly compact quadrangle, at least 30 square miles in area, near the south-westernmost extremity of the Kachichere Plateau, and at the base of that salient of Jema'a District which terminates in Kafanchan Town, on the Zaria border. They are thus separated from the main body of the Katab tribe by the Kafanchan tribe of Jema'a District, by Kaje, by Kagoro, and by the very considerable cosmopolitan centre, Kafanchan Town.

The most recent population figures available for the Kaninkon tribe are those compiled by Mathews (1934): Ambam (Anban), 251; Amere (Amare, Amre), 461; Bakin Kogi, 285; Gerti (Garte), 321; Ungwar Baki, 525; Ungwar Peri (Fari), 448; total, 2,291. A seventh village, Gwaska, identified by administration as Kaninkon, is located within this area; an eighth, Kwagiri, is located in the Yeskwa area of Kagoma-Yeskwa District. The Forestry Reconnaissance Map of Jema'a Division of 1948 shows Amere to be a dispersed settlement, with wards (Ungwar Sarkin Amere, Amere, and Old Amere) scattered the entire length and breadth of Kaninkon territory in Jema'a District.

The precise extent of Kaninkon territory is not known, so that the density of population cannot be established, but Mathews gave the density of Jema'a District (including the population of Kafanchan Town) as approximately 26 per square mile in 1934.

The only available account of Kaninkon is that compiled by Mathews. Virtually the whole of the Kachichere Plateau appears to have been "subject" to the Sarkin Kajuru (see Kachichere, below), at least until the rise of the Fulani. Mathews writes: "originally they had one chief for the whole tribe, and separate priests for each village. But during Fulani times the two sections, the Black Kaninkon and the White Kaninkon, fell out with one another because the latter, who are regarded as being of lower status than the Black . . . . refused any longer to be regarded as a reservoir for providing more than their fair share of the annual tribute of slaves to

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kachichere

According to Smith, there are two communities of Aticherak origin in Kagoro District—Dussai (population 230) and Mafok (435): these have been so assimilated by Kagoro that they cannot seriously be considered as Aticherak, even though they have maintained a certain degree of integrity.

The people termed by Temple and Tremearne "Daroro" are apparently those called Kachichere in very recent years by the Administration of Jema'a Division: these Kachichere are located in a triangular area, Jagindi Station-Ungwar Audi-Nindam, some 35 square miles in area, virtually at the heart of Jema'a District, to the south of Kaninkon and 15 miles from Kafanchan Town. Their identity with the Daroro tribe depends on the accuracy of Temple's statement that Nindam (a Kachichere village, according to the latest information) is "the only town in their occupation," that is, of the Daroro. It is of interest that the account of the founding of Jema'a Emirate given by Temple, who appears to have been unaware of any connection between Daroro and Kachichere, tends to support, by strong implication, Administration's innovation in nomenclature.[38] The Daroro were "conquered and drive out [of Kachichere territory] by the Fulani, *c.* 1805-10." to their present abode. It is also significant that the high plains "undulating and dotted with hills" between Kachichere Area and Jagindi have been known in former times by the name Kachichere Plateau.

The most recent population figures available are those of Mathews (1934):

Village [39]	*Population*
Akwa	114
Danguwa (Dangwa)	196
Nindam Kogo (Nindam)	206
Numbu	247
Zangan Kogo (Zankan)	259
Total	1,022

According to the traditions collected by Brice-Smith and others in Zaria, Aticherak claim to have been the "original" inhabitants of the present-day Katab tribal area, to have extended hospitality to Katab immigrants, and to have been crowded subsequently into the narrow pocket which they now inhabit by the armed incursions of Kagoro, Moroa (Asolio), and Aten. They may have some special affinity with Atsam (Chawai) their neighbours on the north; at Lungu, informants have stated that all Aticherak are related to Atsam of Pari (cf. Ungwar Peri or Fari (Pari) in Jema'a District). They were subjects, apparently willing ones and as such special favourites, of the Sarkin Kajuru, before the Jihad, as were Ikulu, Kamantan, even the Kachichere, Fulani and probably others among their neighbours.[40] It is not known to what extent Aticherak of Zangon Katab District maintain relations with their kinsmen of Nindam-Daroro.

traced ultimately to the influence of that petty kingdom, but it appears that Zangon Katab was founded by Kauru, and Zango's fame as a centre of craftsmen suggests a similar system. (It will be recalled that Kauru is reputed to have been founded by a man of Wadai; the chiefs of Kajuru are said to be Beriberi—Kanuri—in origin.) Cf. tradition relating to dispersion of Maguzawa smiths from the environs of Kano City in the 14th century, reported by Temple.

[38] "Jema'a was founded by Mallam Usuman. . . . He went to Zaria . . . and received permission to enter Kachichere territory, where, with a following of cattle Fulani, he settled in the neighbourhood of Jema'ar Daroro—which probably received its name from the people Daroro inhabiting that mountain."

[39] Whatever its traditions of origin, Administration regards Akwa as assimilated by the "aboriginal" Numana peoples of Jema'a District, though the traditions of a miraculous local origin of the Numana on the Kachichere Plateau may indicate some kind of an early link with Aticherak. The present-day list of villages recognized by Administration indicates considerable dispersal since 1934; the list includes Ungwar Anga, Ungwar Audi, Ungwar Madaki, Ungwar Magaji, Ungwar Makeranta, and Ungwar Umaru, in addition to Danguwa, Nindam Kogo, and Zangan Kogo (Numbu has disappeared from the list).

[40] Some of whom, however, appear to have resisted the claims of Kajuru.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu

IKULU

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE: POPULATION: LOCATION: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Little information is available concerning the people generally termed Ikulu or Ikolu in the literature.[47] According to Brice-Smith, they call themselves *Ankulu*: the meaning of this name is not indicated.

The latest population figures available for Zaria Province as a whole (N.A. Census of 1948–9) indicate that the Ikulu tribe is found exclusively in Zangon Katab District, where they number 5,961: the bulk of these are found in the northern quarter of the District, north of the main centres of Kaje and Katab concentration, but their hamlets and farms are reported to be intermingled with farms of Kaje (and Katab) pioneers pushing forward out of the more thickly settled areas to the south, and those of Kamantan, to the west. Predominantly Ikulu Village-areas are (figures returned *c.* 1948): Anchuna, 1,596; Kamurun Ikulu, 2,956; Padan (=Fadan) Ikulu, 1,042; total, 5,594. Besides Ikulu in the north, however, there are a number of communities to the south and east of the District among Katab, Atsam, and others: many of these appear to have been absorbed by the local society, but in some cases (e.g., Kwiambana Ikulu, in Pari Village-area of Chawai) they appear to have preserved their identity; it is not known which if any of these emigrant Ikulu are included in the 1948–9 total for the District (and Province).[48]

Before the Ikulu of Kachia District were transferred to Zangon Katab, *c.* 1925, the three Ikulu Village-areas named above appear already to have emerged as distinct entities, with recognized heads; further, they appear to have simply absorbed the Ikulu hamlets which came to the District from Kachia. The possibility that Kamuru may occupy the position of *primus inter pares* is discussed below. It should be noted that the Ikulu Village-area heads do not administer the immigrant Kaje among them, according to Reynolds: these Kaje are still dependent on their parent villages in the south, through which they continue to pay their taxes.

Meek states (in MS. notes) that the Ikulu are sub-divided into four "wife-stealing" units[49] distributed among the villages—which are basically exogamous units (cf. Kaje, below)—as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*
Ekawranyi	Dissin Ungvya Unduru Ikum
Unchera	?
Ampak	Balto Ansong Lisum
Ayinti	Kunyekuni Kito

Of the villages named, only Balto can be tentatively identified as Bato, in the immediate vicinity of Fadan Ikulu. It may well be that the villages of each "wife-stealing" unit are interspersed among those of the remainder, but it is not

[47] In a report, "Ethnographical notes on Wurkun District, Adamawa Province," Meek refers to Ikulu as "the Ba-Kulu of Zaria Province": in *Tribal Studies* he notes that "the Kaje . . . call . . . the Ikulu the Bakulu," whence, apparently, he has adopted the name.

[48] Kwiambana Ikulu in 1950 had a total population of 161; adult males, 35. See also below.

[49] Presumably units outside of which secondary wives must be sought, though the term appears to be used in both inclusive and exclusive senses. Meek notes also that a man does not seek a secondary wife in a village from which he has taken a primary wife: it is not clear from this whether the "wife-stealing" unit is endogamous, perhaps, so far as primary marriage is concerned.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu
Kamantan

According to Temple, "a large proportion of the Ikolu are blacksmiths," which would seem to differentiate them from Katab, who have by all accounts no smiths at all, and apparently also from Kadara, among whom smiths are not numerous. It will be recalled, however, that the chiefs of Kajuru appear to have had some special connection with the smiths of Kachichere.

Kamantan

General: Nomenclature: Population: Location: Social Organization

Available information relating to Kamantan (Kamantam) parallels closely the brief description given of Ikulu.

According to Meek, their name for themselves is Angan (sing. Zamangan): the origin and meaning of the name are not indicated.

The Zaria N.A. Census of 1948–9 returns 3,634 Kamantan for Zangon Katab District and the Province. The Resident of Zaria's list of Village-areas, undated, (*c.* 1948), shows the population of Padan (Fadan) Kamantan, the single predominantly Kamantan Village-area, to be 3,343.[46]

The essential feature of Angan social organization, judging from Meek's notes, seems to be that "people who are related give their daughters in marriage more readily than they would give them to strangers; but cousins may not marry." Presumably "cousins" here refers to collateral relatives whose genealogical relationship is recognized, and the rule implies that the group of kinsmen whose relation to Ego can be traced genealogically constitute Ego's exogamous units. This system certainly differs radically from the normal Katab (but cf. Srubu, p. 63 above, where marriage rules appear to be comparable). Meek partially analyses the Kamantan tribe as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*	*Comments*
(1)	Kagal Ashin (Kaku)	2 related exogamous sections 2 non-related exogamous sections
(2)	Kaban Kangun	
(3)	Agan [sic] (Fadan Kamantan) Balil Lena	Believed related
(4)	Yangan Shokwan	

Only the first village named for each "wife-stealing" unit can be located on maps of the area. It would not be surprising if the various parts of Angan society were disparate, but more information is needed before further comment can be made.

The Kamantan tribe, comprising a single Village-area, is the only tribe of the Katab Group so far described which has, in effect, a tribal chief. The office is nowhere discussed, though Meek notes that the chief has a ritual sword (the origin of which is not stated).

observer to have described the Katab *obwai*-hut as "tall" (Meek notes that the hut is round in contrast to the usual style of building): in the Kadara area, on the other hand, many investigators have been struck by the unusual height of the "tsafi huts" and the extreme pitch of their conical thatched roofs. It has already been noted that the Katab *obwai* cult resembles in many respects the Kadara *dodo*-cult, and it seems possible that Ikulu, even if not a branch of Kadara, may have acted as a medium for the diffusion of the Kadara *dodo*-cult over the whole of the Katab area. Diffusion from the west seems, on the basis of the very scanty information available, more likely only because the *dodo*-cult is completely absent from a wide area of the High Plateau, whence Kagoro—who practise *obwai*—seem to have come, on the east. The chief of Ankuwa interviewed by Meek recognized the essential unity of the Kadara, Kaje, Srubu, and Ikulu *dodo*-cults.

[46] The difference is probably accounted for by inaccurate returns.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro
Kafanchan

According to Meek, the Kafanchan (occasionally written by him "Kabbanchan") tribe, located in the immediate vicinity of Kafanchan Town, are an "offshoot" of Kagoro. Smith notes that Kagoro seem to have regarded Kafanchan as friends and allies in times past.

The most recent figures available specifically for Kagoro of Jema'a and for Kafanchan are those compiled by A. B. Mathews in 1934:

	Village	*Population*
Kagoro	Tafam [41]	887
	Tukun Kasa	250
	Tukun Tozo	388
	Ungwan Kagoro [42]	146
	Total	1,671
Kafanchan	Total [43]	971

At the time of Mathews' investigation, Kagoro of Jema'a were administered through three village headmen (Tafam, Tuku, and Ungwan Kagoro). In 1950 Administration was encouraging the formation of a tribal council as a means of uniting whatever factions may have existed among Kagoro in the District. Kafanchan appear sometimes to have been administered through the heads of their four villages, sometimes through a "tribal chief"—an institution alleged to date back to their submission to Kajuru. At present, they are said to have elected to join with the three Kaje villages of Jema'a District to form a local council.

Traditions: Social Structure[44]

Kagoro are divided into two major groups or "moieties" on the basis of their traditions of origin. One of these bears the name of Ankwei:[45] this group is patrilineally descended from ancestors who left the High Plateau to the north-east of Kagoro District, resided for a time in the vicinity of Nimbia and eventually retired to the safe heights of the Kagoro massif (about 1700, according to Smith's estimate).[46] From the account given by Smith it seems not unlikely that, while at Nimbia, Ankwei may have been simply a localized clan or clan segment participating with other similar groups in a tribal organization the major centre of which lay on the High Plateau, for example, at Jal, or Shonong (Oshono), or Bachit, or Riyom; on Kagoro rock, however, where Ankwei would virtually have lost all contact with the Plateau homeland, Ankwei-Kagoro "split into three divisions, Zafan, Mingio and Atswam," according to the tradition ascribed by Smith to "the men of Zafan." These seem likely to have been localized exogamous groups (cf.

[41] Tafa, according to Tremearne; Tafan, in the Census of 1930 Village Directory.

[42] The first three villages named claim to antedate all Kagoro settlements in Kagoro District, Zaria; the inhabitants of what Mathews calls "Ungwan Kagoro" are recent immigrants from Kagoro District, said to have come seeking to escape persecution from a District head later deposed. No "Ungwan Kagoro" appears on present-day village lists at Kafanchan, and it is to be supposed that these immigrants reformed themselves, after Mathews' investigation, into a number of villages: in addition to the first three named above, Administration recognized Akau, Chenji, Daudu, Godogodo, Kato, and Kowai as Kagoro settlements in 1950. It is not known whether immigration from Kagoro District continues.

[43] Kafanchan Town is said originally to have been a Kafanchan settlement, but here they have been largely displaced by "stranger" elements. Kafanchan villages recognized as such by Administration are: Garaje, Ungwar Adam, Ung. Mamudu, and Ung. Sigari (Ringari on Forestry Reconnaissance Map of the Division dated May, 1948).

[44] A field study by M. G. Smith, who appears to have taken fully into account the earlier work done by Meek at Kagoro, is heavily drawn upon in this section.

[45] No connection with Ankwe (more properly Kemai or Goemai) of Shendam Division, Plateau Province, can be traced.

[46] Tradition recorded at Kagoro; it is not known whether Tuku and Tafam in Jema'a District are Ankwei, or constitute one or more other similar groups perhaps not represented among Kagoro of Kagoro District.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

592 form a separate social unit and which is laid by the householder's father before any building takes place. Above the central stone is a wooden structure supporting a platform on which grain is heaped in the dry season when brought in from the fields."

618 A single named kinship group among Kagoro—the *bin*—remains to be described. Four kinds of *bin* are classified by Smith: the *bin* formed among "dispersed segments of former clan"; the *bin* formed among agnatically related *kwai* of a single village; and two sorts of artificial *bin*, one, an exclusive grouping of *kwai* and the other, a *bin* of which one or more of the participating *kwai* (or lineages thereof) are linked with other *kwai* (or lineages) to constitute a second *bin* (as will be seen in the table below, certain lineages of *kwai* Kpaguwak, Mingio and Mungwop of Fadan Kagoro participate in a total of five *bin*, for example). The *bin* is, then, an association of *kwai*: membership in a *bin* entails exogamy, and prohibits "wife-stealing" within the *bin*: members share "common totem, where these occur" and, in at least the first of the four types described above, a "common clan name and traditions of common descent, sometimes genealogically demonstrable," is not unusual—though in the last of the two types described kinship is purely artificial. As with the *kwai*, exceptions to all rules seem to occur, but it would appear that the *bin* system, even when its deficiencies are taken into account (see diagram on p. 91), must be essential to Kagoro unity, providing as it does links between the various local units (Village-areas). The actual effects of the *bin* system can best be grasped in the diagram, in which ties between villages are shown graphically.

618 The table which follows, an adaptation from Smith's several tables, shows the distribution of *kwai* by villages, and the *bin* linkages of *kwai* (those *kwai* followed by the same number in parentheses constitute a single *bin*), as well as their moiety affiliations.

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Village-Area : Population	*Ankwei moiety : Kwai—Bin—Population*		*Kpashan moiety : Kwai—Bin—Population*	
Fadan Kagoro (Fada) : 1,895	Kpaguwak (1, 2) ..	214	Kadau (14)	412
	Mingio (2, 3, 4) ..	346	Kalahu (15)	374
	Mungwop (4, 5) ..	173	Lawat (16, 17) ..	376
		733		1,162
Agbam (Agwam, Agwan, ? Ogban) : 1,422	Mingio (3)	415	Kacang (18)	94
	Mungwop (5)	241	Kamuwang (?) ..	413
			Kutang (14?)	194
		656	Lawat (16)	85
				786
Chanje (–i) : 113	Mingio (3)	38	Kutrok (19)	33
	Mungwop (5)	21	Sukurak (20)	21
		59		54
Kpak (Kwak, ? Apak) : 1,299	Atswan (6)	74	Kabiyip (21, 22) ..	92
	Mingio (3)	179	Kagak (21, 22) ..	203
		253	Nientswot (21, 22) ..	256
			Kangai (23)	9
			Micen (23, 24) ..	222
			Kutrok (15, 19, 25) ..	264
				1,046

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KAGORO

Village-Area : Population	*Ankwei moiety : Kwai—Bin—Population*		*Kpashan moiety : Kwai—Bin—Population*	
Kukum (Kukkum) : 1,612	Kangai (7)	315	Sukurak (20)	294
	Katuk (7)	332		
	Katuwak (7)	132		
	Kunduwak (7)	227		
	Kusali (7)	100		
	Zukpom (7, 8)	84		
	Kpaguwak (1)	128		
		1,318		
Kadarko : 708	Kabum (9)	77		
	Kagwurum (9)	173		
	Kanyio (9)	121		
	Kikwot (9)	117		
	Zafan (9)	179		
	Sibio (10)	16		
	Ti (10)	26		
Makabun (Makabbo) : 303	Kabon (9)	183		
	Kagwurum (9)	40		
	Kikwot (9)	16		
	Zafan (9)	59		
	Sibio (10?)	5		
Malagum : 609	Mingio (3)	23	Kawom (24)	206
			Kutrok (19)	380
				586
Safio (Safwio) : 793	Atswan (6)	21	Kalayip (26, 18)	87
	Kabiokut (8)	75	Kamang ? (26, 18, 25)	222
	Mungwop (5)	38	Kushwon (26 18, 17)	146
		134	Kuluk (22)	204
				659
Dussai (Duchin, Dusai) : 230	Ankut (11)	?		
	Anpi (12)	?		
	Kagwom (13)	?		
Mafok (Mafo, Mafor) : 435	Ankut (11)	?		
	Anpi (12)	?		
	Kagwom (13)	?		

It should be explained that the complex linkages between *bin* at Fadan Kagoro are the result of relations maintained by single lineages within the *kwai* concerned. Elsewhere, apparently, linkages between *bin* commonly involve entire *kwai*.

Population figures are derived from Smith's own census of July, 1950, except for the totals for Dussai and Mafok, which he attributes to the N.A. Census for 1949–50. Alternative names for Village-areas given in parentheses are derived variously from Ames, Census Village Directory of 1931, Cole, Meek, and Tremearne.

LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY.

In 1950 the chief of the Kagoro Independent District was a man of Kamang *tusa* of Kalahu *kwai* at Fadan Kagoro, popularly chosen by Kagoro on the death in 1945 of his predecessor, who also came of the Kamang lineage: of the five (or more) chiefs recognized by Administration since the first British expedition to the District in 1905, all have come of Kamang lineage save one.

The facts that lie behind these facts are impossible to establish with any real certainty at this late date. Smith sums up the situation: "When living in their strongholds in the Kagoro hills . . .Kagoro had no single tribal chief. . . . He is

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MOROA
ATAKA

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	Population (1931)
Babban Gida (Agbwat) [101]	184
Biniki (Beniki)	253
Bungyel (Bungen)	46
Bwandom (Bandong)	515
Chambano (Chonbano)	194
Chori	253
Gizagwai (Kisagwai)	354
Kajim	68
Mahuta	345
Manchok	605
Randiyan (Nandiyam)	274
Unguwar Gora (Gora)	203
Zangam	375
Zankan	488
Total	4,157

Randiyan, according to Meek, is mixed Katab and Asolio: so far as can be determined, however, the latter predominate.

Kaura (population 756 in 1931) is, as already indicated, Katab. Another six villages, Adu (53), Anturum (363), Ashim (178), Asu (287), Mafan (638), and Tachira (243), [102] totalling 1,862, may account for the remainder of Asolio in the district in 1931 (cf. " tribal " figure, 4,683, returned by the Census of 1931), but the " tribal " affiliations of the different villages cannot in fact be stated.

As already noted, two hamlets of the Pari (Fari) Village-Area of Zangon Katab District are Asolio; Unguwar Gaya or Kayya (population 204 in 1950, according to Reynolds) and Chori (109).

No Ataka villages in Moroa District are anywhere specified by name. It can only be deduced from the records cited above that some 1,500 to 2,000 in the District were distributed among a maximum of five villages, in 1931, with an average population of from 300 to 400. In Kagoro District, Ataka constitute a single Village-area. In Jema'a District, Plateau Province, Mathews found five villages or hamlets, and stated: " Each village has its own headman (*agwam*) and priest (*agwam obwai*). There is no cohesion and no central authority."

Presumably each village dealt directly with the Moslem District Head. In 1950, eight Ataka villages were recognized by Administration in Jema'a: Akwat, Assob, Barshi, Biyok, Katsak, Manyi, Sakiyo, Tajan Kasa, and Ungwar Atakar. Attempts were then being made to induce the formation of something like an Ataka " tribal council," with the hope that such, if it emerged, might ultimately federate with a similar council of Kagoro in the District.

Meek's analysis of the social structure of Moroa District is fragmentary, but it appears to correspond in some detail to that outlined farther above for Kagoro, the proper names of the various units being distinctive, however. Marriage practices differ only in that girls are given in primary marriage twice a year, at the beginning of the rainy season, and again at the ripening of the millet,[103] when a form of capture, with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives, is customary. Meek notes also that there is free intermarriage between the Asolio and those sections of the Moroa population which belong to other tribes, taking the form of primary marriages or elopment with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permitted among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The chief priest, according to Meek, is a member of the senior Moroa clan, the Ye-Lutsi, which is dispersed among the villages of Bungyel, Chambano, Chori,

[101] Names used by Meek, when they differ from those given in the Village Directory, are placed in parentheses.

[102] Adu is rendered Abu on the map accompanying the Gazetteer of Plateau Province (Ames); Mafan appears as Mafam.

[103] Meek does not specify the date, but millet harvest in Moroa District takes place in November and December.

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Kaje

Zangon Katab District, but it seems probable that precisely those areas inhabited by Kaje (see map) are the most densely populated in both Districts, so that the actual difference, from the point of view of Kaje, may be negligible.

The Kaje tribal area is drained by the Kogum-Mada system, which flows southward to the Benue, and by the headwaters of the Gurara, which empties westwards into the Niger. The country is generally undulating and parklike, not thickly wooded apart from the numerous gullies (*kurmi;* cf. Kagoro and Jaba). East of the railway line between Kankada and Suryam on the Kagoro boundary, there is a considerable extent of marshy ground. Three ranges of hills cross the area, one running north and south, near Zonkwa, and two, extending approximately north-east and south-east, from Afana to Farman, and from Kaban to Kamurun Ikulu, respectively.

Reynolds suggests that Kaje may be the Hausa corruption of the indigenous name, Baju, meaning "people of one language." Kaje is said also to be a tribal ancestor's name.

Social Organization

Kaje villages and hamlets of Zangon Katab District are grouped into 11 Village-areas, among which are distributed six "tribal sections" or clans, according to Reynolds.[109]

"Tribal sections"	*Hamlet*	*Village Area*	*Population*
Baidusag	**Zonkwa** **Kurmin Bi** **Madauci** **Zonkwa (Hausa)**	***Zonkwa***	**3,757**
	Zuturung Fama **Kangurara** **Zuturung Mugu**	***Zuturung***	***1,538 : 5,295***
Baimbin	**Suryan** **Aduan** **Arebot** **Kankada** **Wadon**	***Suryan***	**1,993**
Bainturung	**Gidan Jatau** **Abet** **Asankwai** **Farman** **Ipam** **Kanyem** **Unguwar Jatau**	***Gidan Jatau***	**2,813**
Baintsok	**Fadan Kaje** **Rumfa** **Teofon Gida**	***Fadan Kaje***	**1,506**
	Fadiya Mugu **Fadiya Bosan** **Fadiya Bakut** **Fadiya Yazaan** **Kahon Aruwan** **Kahon Dok** **Zagon Finfa** **Zagon Gajere**	***Fadiya***	***2,409 : 3,915***

[109] Cf. Meek, *Tribal Studies*, II, pp. 101–2.

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Kaje

"Tribal sections"	Hamlet	Village Area	Population
Banewhan	Afana	*Afana*	1,185
	Katsik		
	Gidan Tagwai	*Gidan Tagwai*	1,704
	Amfani		
	Bakin Kogi		
	G. Tagwai Hausa		
	Makera Hausa		
	Kamurun Kaje	*Kamurun Kaje*	1,979
	Kurdan		
	Sokwap		
	Zauru		
	Marsa	*Marsa*	2,227 : 7,095
	Chanchu		
	Kunye		
	Rikawan		
Batadon	Madakiya	*Madakiya*	3,396
	Atat		
	Ayagan		
	Bodari		
	Bonkwa		
	Hausawan Matsirgas		
	Hurjam		
	Kauraje		

Kaje appear early to have become subject to the Kajuru kingdom which dominated the whole of the Kachichere Plateau till the Jihad, and thereafter to the Fulani: in the middle of the last century, Kaje were divided between Zaria and Jema'a Emirates, and remained so under the British till 1934, when the whole of Banewhan and Batadon, and parts of Baimbin and Bainturung tribal sections were transferred from Jema'a to Zangon Katab District of Zaria.

At the present time the Kaje area of Zangon Katab is organized and administered as follows. Each recognized village or hamlet within each Village-area has its own civil head: these presumably retain the old title of *agwam*.[110] Subordinate to the hamlet-head may be one or more titled messengers, and a number of ward (Hausa *unguwa*) heads, entitled Madaki (Hausa title), if formally invested by the Village-area head, or Mai-unguwa (Hausa), in the interim. In addition, each hamlet normally has another official, also bearing a Hausa title, Magajin gari; he is either a retired hamlet-head, or a senior relative, who advises the hamlet-head, and acts for him in his absence.

According to Reynolds, one of the hamlets is selected on historical grounds to be, administratively, the senior hamlet of the Village-area. The head of this hamlet automatically becomes the Village-area head. Whether wards within hamlets are similarly arranged in order of seniority is not clear. The Village-area head bears the title Magaji (Hausa, plural Magadai). Each Village-area has, further, a Jekada, a resident representative of the Katuka (the District head, himself the representative of the Emir of Zaria at Zangon Katab): he is essentially a messenger between the Magaji and the Katuka (cf. Wakili, below).

Resident at Zonkwa, the Wakilin Kaje (Hausa, "Minister to Kaje"), whose particular title is Sarkin Fada (Hausa, approximately "Major-domo"), is the Katuka's "mouthpiece" in the Kaje tribal area, as the several Jekadu are his "ears." The net result of this system is to bring the Village-area heads individually to terms, as it were, with the District head, though the post of Wakili is a tacit recognition of the essential integrity of the Kaje "tribe." One of the Jekadu in the Kaje area, further serves as a sort of tribal scribe under the Wakili.

[110] See below. Reynolds, whose analysis of Kaje titles is otherwise meticulous, inexplicably fails to give the indigenous title of the hamlet-head.

794 As suggested already, the *ku* cult, like the Katab *obwai*, appears to function as a device for the control of women. Even if held in some contempt by the initiated, privately, it apparently still looms large in the sum of religious beliefs of women and children, hence of the whole community. Bringing together Meek's account of initiation and Temple's account of the memorial feast at "the Magajin dodo's house" (almost surely a reference to the *ku* priest), it would appear that the Jaba *ku* cult is, paraphrasing Meek's description of the Katab *obwai*, "a public cult associated apparently with the private ancestral cult."

825 According to Meek, "all Jaba are believed by the neighbouring tribes to be wer-animals."[127] Members of the "Madaki's ward" of Kwoi, for example, are believed to have the power of turning themselves into leopards. No member of the ward may kill a leopard, and if members of, for example, the Chief's ward should kill one they bring the carcase to the sacred rock near the Madaki's ward and shout, "We have killed your son, come and bury him." They then run home, for if they were caught they would be charged with murder. The carcase is taken to the sacred hut by the Madaki men where it is ceremonially skinned, with the finger nails instead of a knife, which is taboo. It is eaten ceremonially by grown-up men, boys receiving some of the "juice." Meek did not discover any other specific associations between local and kin groupings and natural species. As has been noted above, under *Life Cycle*, girls are said to be "initiated into the wer-animal rites," but the passage describing this is not easy to interpret.

797 No investigator has commented on the influence of the single Protestant mission, long-established in the area, on indigenous religious beliefs, or on any other aspect of Jaba culture.

Kagoma

Location: Population: Affiliations

131 The bulk of the Kagoma "tribe" inhabits the Kagoma sector of the Kagoma-Yeskwa District, the westernmost district of Jema'a Emirate and Division, Plateau Province (see below).

162 361 103 The last available complete figures for the Kagoma of Jema'a date from 1934, when Mathews estimated the population of their sector at 6,126 pagans and 120 Moslems (who are likely to have been largely Hausa, Fulani, and Rumada). Their chief villages here appear to be Fadan Kagoma (seat of the Moslem District head), Asau (Aso), Gabi, Gigira, and Keya. There is a Kagoma salient in the Yeskwa sector of the District, along the Zaria border, centring about the village of Kwarabe. Also in the Yeskwa sector, along the unofficial boundary between the two sectors and east of Kwarabe, lie the villages of Kano, Kirti, and Kusan: these are apparently Kagoma in origin and if so no doubt still have a Kagoma population, but are classified nowadays by Administration as Jaba, having apparently received over the years numbers of immigrants from Jaba Independent District, Zaria Province, in search of farm-lands (on loan, according to Cole).[128] One village or hamlet of unknown size, Unguwar Dogo, lies immediately south of Jagindi, in Jema'a District. Kagoma settlements are to be found outside Plateau Province, beyond the border of Jaba District, in the vicinity of Kurya, and along the border of Yeskwa District in Benue Province near Gitata, with populations of 484 and 85 respectively. The total number of Kagoma may thus be as little as 7,000 at present.

161 133 Only Temple's figure for the area of Kagoma settlement—166 square miles—is available, making a density of population of 42 per square mile, perhaps an excessively low figure, since the Kagoma area is an extremely rugged one, broken by an 800-ft. escarpment, the southern half deeply cut by kurmi.

173 Traditions of origin seem to be lacking, though Mathews reports that Kagoma in the region of Kirti "say that they sprang from places in the hills near where they now live."

[127] Cf. in particular Butawa, farther above.
[128] Kwagiri in this same area is identified on Divisional maps at Kafanchan as Kaninkon.